ERIC Document Resume	See Instruction Sheet	DATE OF RESUME	DATE RECEIVED

A. PUBLICATION DATA

1. ERIC NUMBER	2. ORIGINATOR CONTROL NO(S).	3. IDENTIFICATION NO.	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACE BELOW
ED002065	NA	NA	

4. AUTHOR(S):
Board of Education, St. Louis Public Schools, St. Louis, Missouri

5. TITLE OF DOCUMENT ABSTRACTED:
Desegregation of the St. Louis Public Schools

6. PUBLICATION TITLE:
NA

MICROFILM COPY AVAILABLE YES ☒ NO ☐

COPYRIGHT GRANTED YES ☐ NO ☒

COPYRIGHT RELEASE FILED YES ☐ NO ☐

TYPE OF REPORT
PROPOSAL ☐
IN-PROGRESS ☒
FINAL ☐
FOLLOW-UP ☐

7. EDITOR(S):
NA

8. PLACE OF ORIGIN
St. Louis Public Schools
ORG. Instruction Department
ST Board of Education
CITY, STATE St. Louis, Missouri

9. PUBLISHER OR SOURCE Instruction Department
St. Louis Public Schools, Board of Education, St. Louis, Missouri

10. VOL.	11. PAGES	12. MO./YR.	13. TOTAL PP.
NA	NA	Sep/56	71

TELE. EXT.
INST/LOC CODE

OTHER ERIC REFERENCES:

ERIC SATELLITE CODE

B. INDEXING DATA

14. SUBJECT AREA

15. TYPE OF ENDEAVOR report

16. INDEXING TERMS (6-12)

civic organizations	professional staff	general high schools	time span
religious organizations	human relations program	adult education	exceptional children
social agencies	college integration	elementary schools	desegregation
	special schools	technical high schools	

17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS)

Some of the factors that helped St. Louis' schools to integrate are presented. Included were activities of key civic and religious organizations and social agencies, which worked to change the pattern of segregation. Another factor was the fine quality of the relations between Negroes and whites on the school's professional staff. The school system's program of education in human relations established an atmosphere that was conducive to integration.

Integration was carried out over a number of years, and depended upon the accomplishment of each preceding step. The steps in order of accomplishment were college integration, integration of special schools for exceptional children, integration of the general high schools, integration of the adult education program, integration of the regular elementary schools, and integration of the technical high schools.

ERIC No.

18. SOURCE OF ABSTRACT

C. FUNDING DATA

19. SUPPORTING ORGANIZATION	20. DIVISION OR DEPT.	21. CONTRACT NO. / PROJECT NO.
	22. TOTAL COST OF PROJECT	
	23. DURATION OR PROJECT	U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Office of Education

ERIC Form 1

10

MISSOURI--ST. LOUIS

St Louis Pub Sch.

ED002065

DESEGREGATION

OF

THE ST. LOUIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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A summary of measures taken by the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis to implement the Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954.

7/c

ST. LOUIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS
INSTRUCTION DEPARTMENT
SEPTEMBER, 1956

Office of Education-EEOP
Research and Materials Branch

Bennett O. Stalvey

DESEGREGATION OF THE ST. LOUIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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Office of Education-EEOP

Research and Materials Branch

FOREWORD

Since immediately after the Supreme Court of the United States handed down its opinions of May 17, 1954, our office has received inquiries from all sections of the country as to what the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis is planning and doing relative to desegregation of the schools under its control. Most of these inquiries have come from educators in other systems, from professional associations or committees concerned with educational problems, from graduate students of education or sociology writing theses for advanced degrees, and from individuals preparing magazine articles.

In order to answer as factually as possible the questions more frequently raised, our office prepared and issued in February, 1955, a resume of how our Board of Education planned to bring about the transition and of what had, at that time, been accomplished toward realization of this end. During the summer of 1956, the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis completed implementation of the final step of the program for desegregation of the schools under its jurisdiction. The purpose of this summary is to bring up to date the factual record of how the change was made.

PHILIP J. HICKEY
Superintendent of Instruction
St. Louis Public Schools

DESEGREGATION OF THE ST. LOUIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Introduction

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States unanimously held that the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits the states from maintaining racially segregated public schools. Whatever the situation may have been in 1868 when the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted or even in 1896 when the opinion in the case of Plessy vs Ferguson was written, the decision states, today education is perhaps the most important function of state and local government and is the very foundation of good citizenship. "In these days," the ruling continues, "it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms." Segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, the decision concludes, deprives the children of the minority group of equal education opportunities even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors such as salaries, training, and qualifications of teachers and curricula may be equal.

Shortly after the court's pronouncement "that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place," the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis began to move in the direction of desegregation of the schools under its jurisdiction. On June 22, 1954, it met in special session "for the purpose of considering and acting upon the question of desegregation of the schools operated by said Board in the City of St. Louis, as a result of opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Brown et al vs

Board of Education of Topeka et al." At this meeting, it unanimously adopted and publicly announced a program for desegregation of the St. Louis Public Schools by steps, to be begun in September, 1954, and to be completed by September, 1955. A presentation of facts relative to the essential features of this program, its reception by the organized community, and its implementation will constitute the essence of this digest. These facts can be most fully understood and appreciated in the light of the sociological and educational setting in which the plan was produced and implemented. A brief overview of general community background and trends, quality of human relations prevalent among staff members and students in the system at the time of the Court's decision, and consideration given beforehand by board members and school officials to possible courses of action in the event of a ruling declaring segregation illegal will, therefore, be given here.

School and Community Background

St. Louis is what is commonly called a "border" city, with a total population of about 875,000 people, of whom approximately 175,000 or 20% were at the time of the Court's decision, Negroes. As of May, 1954, its public school system enrolled approximately 91,000 pupils, of whom 59,000 or 65% were white and 32,000 or 35% were Negro. White and Negro pupils attended separate public schools as required by state law. Over 30,000 children in St. Louis attended private and parochial schools, a relatively low percentage of that number being Negro. Most of the Negroes in attendance at private and parochial schools were enrolled in the Catholic schools, which had been non-segregated since 1947. The 59,000 white pupils enrolled in the public school system were instructed by 1840 white classroom teachers in 83 regular elementary schools, 7 general high schools, 1 technical high school, 1 college,

and 26 special schools for exceptional children.[1] The 32,000 Negro pupils enrolled in the public school system were instructed by 905 Negro classroom teachers in 35 regular elementary schools, 2 general high schools, 1 technical high school, 1 college, and 15 special schools for exceptional children.[2] Because of the rapid and continuous increase of the Negro population over the past quarter century and its heavy concentration in congested areas in the central part of the city, the schools for Negro children were relatively overpopulated. This was true despite efforts continuously made to ameliorate the situation by erection of new buildings, especially primary branch schools, and by conversion to use for Negro children of buildings occupied by schools for white children in "fringe" neighborhoods.

As to mores in regard to race, the life of St. Louis had up to the beginning of World War II been predominantly characterized by the custom of segregation, though aside from a provision of the state constitution making mandatory separate public schools and a state law in regard to interracial marriage, there were no statutory requirements for separation of the races. Public libraries, street cars, buses, and trains had been traditionally operated on a non-segregated basis. Public parks, municipal buildings, and railroad stations had also been largely non-segregated, although there had been at times racial restrictions in regard to use of certain of their facilities -- especially eating places. The practice of segregation had prevailed, however at public community centers and swimming pools, the legitimate theater, and the major league ball park. In the case of moving picture houses,

[1] See Official Report of the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis for July 13, 1954

[2] Ibid

places of commercial recreation, restaurants, and hotels seeking white patronage the practice of non-acceptance of Negroes had prevailed. This had also been the practice in the case of private schools and colleges. From the residential point of view, the city had been for the most part divided into neighborhoods almost exclusively Negro, neighborhoods in process of change from white to Negro, and neighborhoods almost exclusively white. As a matter of general practice, Negroes had not been sold or rented property in neighborhoods almost exclusively white. Public housing had been segregated. And with relatively few exceptions employment of Negroes had been concentrated in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs.

A significant fact in regard to the city as of May, 1954, however, is that though a segregated pattern continued to characterize its life, a number of its key civic and religious organizations and social agencies had during the preceding ten years become increasingly active in working to change that pattern. Included among these organizations were the local press, the Metropolitan Church Federation, the Catholic churches, the Rabbinical Association, the Lutheran Society for Better Human Relations, the Social Planning Council (with its membership of 199 health, welfare, recreational, and educational agencies), the city administration, and several of the larger labor unions. Some tangible outgrowths of such action had been (1) desegregation of St. Louis University, beginning in 1944, (2) desegregation of Catholic elementary and secondary schools in 1947, (3) desegregation of Washington University, beginning in 1947, (4) increasing desegregation of leading hotels of the city, (5) desegregation of St. Louis' largest legitimate theater in 1951, (6) desegregation of St. Louis' major league ball park in 1944, (7) desegregation of municipal swimming pools and other municipal recreational facilities in 1950, (8) considerable desegregation of em-

ployment as illustrated by the hiring of Negro street car and bus operators in 1953, and (9) revision in 1945 of the State Constitution to read "Separate schools shall be provided white and colored children, except in cases otherwise provided for by law," instead of "Separate schools shall be established for the education of children of African descent."

Changes of the nature here indicated had received the commendation and support on the metropolitan level of the Protestant and Catholic churches and of the Synagogues and were themes of commendatory editorials in the press. They had also been objectives of important social agencies. As a matter of fact, the Social Planning Council of St. Louis and St. Louis County had, at the suggestion of the Urban League, appointed a committee to study and submit recommendations in regard to problems of desegregation in its member agencies. Thus during the interval between World War II and the Court's decision, the St. Louis community as a whole had been steadily moving in the direction of desegregation. The decision came at a time, therefore, when key community groups had been undertaking in other areas what the Court prescribed should be undertaken in the area of public education. Immediately upon announcement of the ruling a number of key civic and religious organizations and social agencies communicated with the Board, urging it to initiate a program of desegregation and pledging their co-operation in implementation of such a program.

A second important factor relative to readiness of the St. Louis System for implementation of the decision was the quality of relations which had prevailed on its professional staff since the initial employment of Negro teachers in 1877. Throughout the years it had been the general practice for meetings of teachers and principals called by the administrative office to be on a non-racial basis; for white and

Negro college presidents to meet and work together under the direction of the assistant superintendent in charge of colleges; for white and Negro high school principals to meet and work together under the direction of the assistant superintendent in charge of secondary schools; for white and Negro elementary school principals to meet and work together under the direction of the assistant superintendent in charge of the section of the city in which their schools were located; and for white and Negro special school teachers to meet together and work under the direction of the supervisor of special education. There had never been a practice of separate meetings for white and Negro groups of teachers and principals. And for more than twenty-five years prior to the Court's decision, courses of study had been written and textbooks selected for the St. Louis Public Schools by committees on which white and Negro teachers and principals had worked side by side.

In addition to this non-segregation in the performance of professional duties, there had since 1944 been increased non-segration of white and Negro teachers and principals in the operation of their professional organizations. While the citywide Elementary School Principals Association had since its organization in 1918 included all principals in its membership, there had been greater participation on the part of Negro principals as committee members and officers after 1944. In 1947, the St. Louis Women Principals Club had for the first time included Negro women in its membership. In 1947, also, the local chapter of the Association for Childhood Education had revised its constitution and opened its doors to Negroes, who joined in large numbers and began active participation. In 1946, the Missouri State Teachers Association had announced a change in policy in regard to acceptance of Negroes as members. From that date on, this association, as well as its St. Louis subsidiary, had functioned on a non-segregated basis. In 1950, an Intergroup Edu-

cation Association of teachers and principals, with a present membership of over 500 persons, had been organized for the purpose of improving the teaching of human relations in the schools. It was, of course, a non-segregated group. When the decision came, therefore, the educators of Missouri, and of St. Louis in particular, were already operating to a large extent on a non-segregated basis and had been doing so for some time. This situation and the attitudes it encouraged had made more or less habitual the type of co-operative action and thinking by the teaching body as a whole which is helpful in the transition from segregated to non-segregated education.

A third factor which operated for readiness for desegregation on the part of students particularly had been the system's program of education in human relations. Development of wholesome relationships of the individual with his friends, his immediate neighbors, and members of his family group has always been a prime concern of teachers everywhere; and various methods of accomplishing this objective had been used with educative results throughout the history of the St. Louis Public Schools. There had also for more than a quarter of a century been growing concern among many teachers and principals in the system for including in the program of education for American citizenship materials and experiences developmental of understanding and good will between members of the different ethnic and religious groups of the community. A number of St. Louis principals and teachers had pioneered in this respect. They had done so in such ways as introduction of teaching materials portraying contributions of such groups to American life, assembly programs, and special exhibits showing the achievements of specific groups. They had also done so in the course of the preceding twenty-five years by careful examination of textbooks and supplementary readers under consideration for adoption in the system to see that they did not contain material

which would be detrimental to democratic intergroup attitudes.

During the ten years immediately preceding the Supreme Court's decision, this work for development of intergroup good will had been placed on a more systematic basis. In the winter of 1944-45, a curriculum committee on Intercultural Relations had been appointed to serve in the Social Studies area of the Courses of Study Council. In May, 1945, the St. Louis Public School System had been invited to become a participating system in an eighteen-city experimental study of intergroup education being made by the American Council on Education. The invitation had been accepted and active participation had begun in November, 1945, with the visit to St. Louis of the national director of the study, together with two of her assistants. A teacher at one of the high schools, who is now of the faculty of the teachers college, had been appointed to serve as local co-ordinator for the project.

This experiment had contributed greatly to the development in the St. Louis Public Schools of a more comprehensive human relations program. The basic aim of that program had been discovery and utilization of effective means of promoting good will among the groups of people living in St. Louis by teaching (1) respect for the worth and dignity of the individual regardless of the group to which he belonged, and (2) appreciation for the contributions of the differing ethnic, racial, and religious groups to American life. It had concentrated upon the job of educating boys and girls to live together co-operatively and with mutual understanding and appreciation. Realization of this purpose had been attempted through the introduction of a variety of curricular and co-curricular activities on the elementary and secondary school levels and through intensive and extensive in-service education programs for teachers. From the point of view of the curriculum, the approach had not been the offering of isolated courses in human relations but the introduction

of materials and techniques in the several areas of learning -- art, music, literature, etc. -- which would lead to improvement of intergroup attitudes. Some co-curricular activities which had proved effective had been auditorium programs presented at one high school by students of another; formation of an all-city student council, meeting monthly to discuss matters of common interest to all teen-agers; an intergroup youth conference sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews in co-operation with public, private, and parochial schools from the city and county, in which over one hundred adult leaders from all walks of life participated as resource people; interracial letter-writing between schools; Brotherhood Week Exhibits at the Public Library; and interracial high school athletic events. All of these activities had taken place within the framework of Missouri law and after consultation with the Board of Education's legal staff.

One aspect of the work particularly emphasized in this human relations program had been helping teachers acquire skills in assisting pupils to form habits of evaluating individuals on their own merits. Hundreds of St. Louis teachers along with thousands of teachers from other parts of the country had attended summer workshops in intergroup education at such places as Washington University, St. Louis University, Syracuse University, Harvard, Denver University, and the University of Chicago. Many of them went on scholarships. Authorities on various aspects of intergroup education had been brought to speak before the entire teaching staff of the system as part of its in-service education program. Hundreds of principals and teachers had been excused each year to participate in one-day work conferences conducted by the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations. A consultant in human relations had devoted the major portion of his time and energies to helping teachers guide pupils in the art of co-operative living. As previously mentioned, an

Inter-group Education Association had been formed. It had a membership of 525 teachers, administrators, and consultants.

This long-term, comprehensive, systematic program in teaching respect for individual worth had been considered from the angle of education for American citizenship, important to carry on whether segregation continued or not. It had not exclusively or even primarily focussed its efforts on Negro-white relations. It had, in fact, been inaugurated with other objectives in mind. But it had been destructive of prejudices and productive of attitudes and good will which measurably facilitated acceptance and implementation of the Court's decision.

The action of the Board, therefore, in calling a special meeting to consider such implementation had come at a time when there was a considerable degree of readiness for desegregation on the part of students and teachers as well as on the part of key civic and religious groups and social agencies of the community. Its action had also reflected the fact that before the decision was rendered, thought had been given by Board members and school officials to what procedures might be followed in the event of a ruling declaring segregation illegal. In the summer of 1953, for example, members of the Board, school officials, and community leaders had participated in a series of conferences with the Superintendent of a recently desegregated public school system. The Superintendent's Office, too, during the year the cases were in court had made studies of uses which could be made of the system's physical facilities under a non-segregated organization. And for several years prior to the decision, whenever the erection of a new building was contemplated, one of the questions raised had been how it might be located so that it would be strategically placed whether segregation continued or not. Furthermore, whenever there had been an intergroup controversy over possession of a school building in a "fringe" neighborhood, one of the questions asked

had been, "How may this conflict be resolved in such a way that there will be the least possible residue of antagonism to impede the progress of desegregation if it comes?" As a result of this forethought, the general outlines of several possible plans for desegregation had been in the minds of Board members and school officials when the decision was announced.

Adoption and Announcement of Program for Desegregation

At its meeting of June 22, 1954, the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis adopted and announced a program for desegregation of the schools under its control. This program provided (1) for desegregation at the Junior College and Teachers College levels and for desegregation of special schools and classes that provided their services on a city-wide rather than on a school district basis in September, 1954, (2) for desegregation of all high schools under the Board's control, except the technical high schools, and for desegregation of the adult education program at the beginning of the second semester, January 31, 1955; and (3) for desegregation of the technical high schools and for desegregation of all regular elementary schools in September, 1955.

The plan stipulated that new high school district boundary lines were to be drawn on a non-segregated basis and published by November 15, 1954, and that new elementary school district boundary lines were to be drawn on a non-segregated basis and published by February 1, 1955. These boundary lines, it prescribed under the heading of general principles governing the integration process for students, were to be drawn to provide the best use of the facilities of a given school by students living in the area of that school. Students, under the plan, were required to attend schools according to these boundaries with the exceptions that, in accordance with the established regulations of the

system: (a) the proper school authorities might transfer students from one district to another to relieve overcrowding, and (b) students already enrolled in a school but not resident in its new district might, but were not required to, continue at that school until they graduated, provided the school was not overcrowded.

The plan further stipulated under the heading of general principles governing the integration process for employees (1) that tenure rights of certificated (teaching) employees were to be preserved, (2) that whenever possible employees were to retain their present assignments, being transferred only to meet the needs of the service, (3) that when vacancies occurred employees were to be assigned to fill them on the basis of the competence and adaptability of an employee for a particular assignment, (4) that teachers were to be appointed from a single rated list compiled from examination scores, without regard to race or color, (5) that promotions were to continue to be made on the basis of merit, and (6) that when vacancies occurred among lunchroom or matron and custodian staff, employees were to be assigned to fill them on the basis of their competence and adaptability for particular assignments, that employees in these and other non-certificated classes were to be appointed from lists compiled from examination scores, without regard to race or color, and that promotions of such personnel were to continue to be made solely on the basis of merit.

The program was thus planned to provide for complete and orderly desegregation of the schools, minimum disruption of the educational programs of students, and fair and impartial treatment of employees and candidates for employement. It also provided that "with respect to any parts of our educational program not referred to specifically in the preceding paragraphs of this statement, the Superintendent of Instruction is hereby fully authorized to proceed in such manner and according

to such schedules as shall be deemed by him judicious for the proper and orderly accomplishment of our basic objective."

One reason for making the transition by steps, or categories of schools, over the period of a year was that considerable detail work needed to be done in regard to such matters as meetings with teachers and principals and parents, the drawing of new school district boundary lines, assignment of teachers and pupils and other personnel, transfer of books and materials, and transmission of information to parents. "We need time to do this job with the careful thoroughness that it demands," the Board pointed out. "There will be fewer mistakes and fewer misunderstandings if we proceed in orderly steps." Another reason for desegregating by categories of schools was that a major portion of administrative attention could then be concentrated on the particular schools being desegregated at the time they were being desegregated, thus insuring a more thorough supervisory job.

The junior and teachers colleges were included in the first groups of schools to be desegregated because there was a considerable degree of social maturity on that level, because both faculty members and students had previously participated in many group activities of an interracial character, because there was no problem of re-districting as enrollment was on a city-wide basis, and because the need for communication with parents was at a minimum. It was, furthermore, believed that desegregation of the colleges would be accomplished with such efficiency and in such a spirit as to set a high standard for the entire process of desegregation and serve as patterns for the schools that followed.

The special schools for various types of physically handicapped, mentally retarded and socially maladjusted children were also included in this initial group. There were several reasons for doing so. In the

first place, the fact that these pupils were for the most part assigned on a city-wide rather than a neighborhood basis reduced the problem of districting to a minimum. In the second place, the facts that their classes were small and the teachers experienced in individual instruction and guidance made possible greater attention to the adjustment of each individual child. In the third place, the fact that many community services and activities for physically handicapped children had for some years been on a non-segregated basis induced the belief that desegregation of these schools without preparatory groundwork would take place in an orderly manner and on a high plane. And in the fourth place, the fact that in addition to regular classroom instruction all of the auxiliary services offered by the system were rendered one or more groups of these deviate children afforded an opportunity to test the plan for possible weaknesses on a small scale before applying it to larger numbers of children. Such a test would afford opportunity to study and demonstrate how such services as hot lunches, shower baths, rest periods, bus transportation, and physiotheraphy in addition to regular classroom instruction could be placed on a desegregated basis. It would also furnish opportunity to study and demonstrate how white and Negro lunchroom workers, bus drivers and attendants, matrons and custodians, as well as teachers and pupils, could function acceptably in a desegregated situation, participating in the same activities with a maximum of co-operation. This study and demonstration, it was believed, would prove helpful and suggestive as the process of desegregation continued through the system.

The nine general high schools were included in the groups of schools to be desegregated at the beginning of the second semester because it was believed that careful re-districting, necessary communication with parents, and adequate preparations for transfer of large numbers of pupils could in their cases be accomplished in a half year. Since the

adult education program was largely though not entirely housed in secondary school buildings, it also was scheduled for desegregation on January 31, 1955. Because a new technical high school was under construction and its completion anticipated by the fall of 1955, the technical high schools were scheduled for desegregation on that date. That was also the date designated for desegregation of the regular elementary schools, as the administrative detail and communication to parents in their cases required a greater amount of time than did that for the preceding groups of schools, both because of the larger number of schools and individuals involved and because of the relative immaturity of the pupil population.

A comparison of the procedures outlined in the Board's plan of June, 1954, with the problems enumerated in the Supreme Court's implementation decrees of May 31, 1955, reveals close similarity of approach. In the ruling of May, 1955, the Supreme Court placed upon the federal district courts responsibility for determination of "whether the action of school authorities constitutes good faith implementation of the governing constitutional principles." It stipulated that in doing so the district courts "will require that the defendants make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with our May 17, 1954, ruling." It further stipulated that in passing on the question of how much time is necessary for "good faith" compliance at the earliest practicable date, "...the courts may consider problems related to administration, arising from the physical condition of the school plant, the school transportation system, personnel, revision of school districts and attendance areas into compact units to achieve a system of determining admission to the public schools on a non-segregated basis, and revision of local laws and regulations which may be necessary in solving the foregoing problems." As has been pointed out in preceding paragraphs the St. Louis plan was formulated for the precise purpose of performing with "deliberate speed"

the type of administrative tasks referred to in these decrees. It is worthy of comment, in this connection, that the word "gradual" at no place appeared in the plan. The word "step" -- meaning, for St. Louis, the desegregation of a category of schools -- was used instead; and whenever the word "step" was used a date for taking the step was specified.

The Board in adopting the foregoing schedule made the following statement: "The program we have agreed upon has been prepared without benefit of direction from our state authorities, and it is conceivable that subsequent action by such authorities may dictate some modification of the program. It does, however, represent the best judgment of Board members and school administrators."

On June 30, 1954, Mr. John M. Dalton, Attorney General of the State of Missouri, ruled that provisions of the Missouri Constitution and laws which required the maintenance of separate schools for Negro and white children "are superseded by the decision of the United States Supreme Court and are, therefore, unenforceable." Because of this fact, he ruled, there are now no valid laws in Missouri which either require or permit segregation of the races in the public schools. This ruling cleared the way for inauguration without modification of the Board's plan for desegregation. It also placed school officials in the position of implementing the law of the land in regard to public education under direct instructions from their governing Board.

The issuance through the local press of this definite policy statement and desegregation program in June, 1954, did much to generate a wholesome atmosphere in which the desegregation process might take place by giving all concerned a clear understanding of what had been decided and when it would become effective. This understanding, it was thought, would serve to allay the sort of fears, suspicions, and unfounded rumors

which tend to be spread in an atmosphere of uncertainty and to create confusion. One feature of the plan designed to minimize misunderstanding was the underlying proviso that established regulations of the system except those pertinent to the segregation of the races would remain effective. This proviso, besides insuring a background of normalcy, made the plan less difficult to explain to parents and pupils since they were already familiar with the established regulations. For the same reason it made it less difficult for individuals and groups desirous of co-operating in implementation of the plan to find appropriate ways of doing so since they, too, were more or less familiar with those regulations. A third important effect of this proviso was that it prevented the creation of subsidiary problems at a time when it was important that the energies of school officials should not be diverted from the primary problem of desegregation. Thus the Board of Education took its first step towards desegregation by formulation of a plan embodying the principles enunciated by the Court in procedures practicable in the St. Louis situation. The Board's statement outlining the plan concluded with the following paragraph of summation and appeal:

> "We believe that this program will expeditiously and wisely secure for every public school child full, equal, and impartial use of our school facilities and services and will secure for our employees fair and impartial treatment. To achieve these ends, we petition the help, the co-operation, and the good will of all of the citizens of our community."[1]

Co-operation of Organized Groups

Both before and after announcement of the plan in the local news-

[1] For complete official report of the special meeting of the Board at which the program for desegregation was adopted, see the appendix of this summary.

papers, a number of key organizations of the community volunteered their assistance and support. These included the press, the League of Women Voters, the citywide councils of parent-teacher associations, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the N.A.A.C.P., the Urban League, the Metropolitan Church Federation, representatives of the Catholic Church, the Lutheran Society for Better Human Relations, the Jewish Community Council, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, and others. A few weeks after the program was adopted, the President of the Board invited representatives of the organizations which had indicated their desire to co-operate to a meeting at which details of the plan were thoroughly explained and discussed. At this meeting the decision was reached that as one of its contributions each organization so minded would assume what responsibility it found appropriate and practicable to explain and interpret the plan for public school desegregation among the groups of people with whom it worked or with whom it had the greatest influence.

In keeping with this idea, the League of Women Voters prepared and published a booklet describing the plan in detail, giving information on the progress of desegregation in St. Louis and St. Louis County, and recommending support of what the Board was undertaking. The Metropolitan Church Federation set aside a Sunday for prayer of thanksgiving for public school desegregation in its 600 member churches, charging its pastors and their membership to take an open stand for desegregation and to center their programs for the day about it. The Archbishop of the St. Louis Diocese sent a letter to the pastors of all Catholic Churches of the city and county calling upon them to co-operate with the Board of Education in its program of desegregation and to use their influence with their hundreds of thousands of parishioners to do likewise. The

Rabbinical Association also issued a statement urging all citizens to work and pray for the success of desegregation. The National Conference of Christians and Jews undertook training of teen-age leadership groups with whom it had been working for a considerable period of time to assist in the actual process of transition. The white and Negro citywide councils of parent organizations pledged their support and worked closely with the Superintendent and with one another to make the changeover worthy of the best traditions of the city and system. The Mayor's Commission on Human Relations conducted a workshop on desegregation, bringing to the community a number of experts in the field and cooperating closely with the administrative and teaching staff of the public schools. The local press editorially endorsed the plan, provided channels of communication to the public as need arose, and handled news pertaining to it in a socially constructive way. One daily paper urged its prompt, and if practicable, accelerated implementation.

Seldom if ever has there been a project on which the key civic and religious organizations and social agencies of St. Louis have cooperated more unanimously than on this. Keeping closely in contact with the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Instruction, they to a large extent took over the task of securing community-wide understanding, acceptance, and support of the program. This they did by interpretation of the Court's decision and the Board's plan to those with whom they worked in terms of the principles for which they as organizations stood. The work of these organizations and agencies plus a respect for law on the part of the majority of citizens was instrumental in creating a climate of orderliness and good will in which desegregation might take place. It also served to release the time and energies of school officials for the important jobs necessary to be done with pupils, teachers, and parents.

Desegregation of Colleges

In September, 1954, as one of the initial steps in implementation of the program, the teachers and junior colleges of the system were reorganized on a non-segregated basis. Stowe Teachers and Junior College was an institution with a Negro student body and a Negro instructional and non-instructional staff. During the semester ending in June, 1954, it had had an average daily enrollment of 340 students and a faculty of 28 teachers.[1] Harris Teachers and Junior College was an institution with a white student body and a white instructional and non-instructional staff. During the semester ending in June, 1954, it had had an average daily enrollment of 528 students and a faculty of 33 teachers.[2] Members of the staffs of both colleges devoted some time to service as elementary school consultants in the areas of art, music, science, and physical education and also as supervisors of the work of apprentice teachers in their respective fields.

The two colleges were desegregated by consolidation into one institution and housed in the Harris College Building with approximately forty per cent of the student body and faculty Negro and sixty per cent of the student body and faculty white. The faculty and clerical, custodial, and lunchroom staffs of the new institution were selected from the staffs of the former colleges in accordance with the general principles governing the integration of employees adopted by the Board on June 22, 1954. Staff members of these former colleges who were not assigned to the new institution were assigned to positions in the system commensurate with their training and experience. No employee was demoted or dismissed. The president of Harris Teachers and Junior College

1. See Official Report of the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis for July, 1954.
2. Ibid

was appointed president of the consolidated college. He was later given the rank of director of education in charge of college education. The president of Stowe Teachers College was given the rank of director of education. She was assigned to the division of elementary education for the year 1954-55 and took over the duties of one of the directors in that division, who was released for the year to work on details connected with the mechanics of desegregation. At the beginning of the following year she was assigned to the personnel division as director in charge of the work of that division with probationary teachers.

The transition was made in a climate of friendliness and calm. It was, in the opinion of those who observed it at first-hand and who had observed previous consolidations in the system, no different from combining institutions composed of students and teachers of the same ethnic background. The only organized opposition manifesting itself in connection with the change was the distribution of handbills by an anti-desegregation group. These handbills had been distributed prior to the opening of school. Details relative to the transition were reported in the daily and weekly press and on radio and television in an objective, matter-of-course manner that contributed materially to the atmosphere of normality which pervaded the community. Within the college, classes were organized as usual and work proceeded without incident. There was absence of racial friction. It is interesting to note that the average daily enrollment of college students increased from 868[1] during the last semester of the segregated organization to 1038[2] during the first semester of the non-segregated organization. Whatever the reasons may be, the fact remains that desegregation did not result in diminution of college enrollment.

[1] See Official Reports of the proceedings of the Board of Education
[2] of the City of St. Louis for July, 1954, and March, 1955.
Ibid

In the opinion of those closest to the situation, the high degree of success of this initial step was in large part due to the democratic leadership which had been developed among the students of both colleges and to the co-operative relationships which had been developed between members of the two professional staffs as the result of years of working together on common problems. The success of the step was also regarded as in large part attributable to the determination of faculty members and students to do a good educational job and to their determination to maintain a college environment characterized by respect for individual worth and achievement. This approach was believed by them most likely to result in immediate establishment of the institution on a sound educational foundation. A tangible by-product of the merger was release of the former Stowe College building for the housing of five hundred elementary school pupils in an area of the city where pupil-teacher ratio on that level was critically high.

Desegregation of Special Schools for Exceptional Children

The special schools and classes for exceptional children were also desegregated in September, 1954. With the exception of the classes for the mentally retarded, they, too, were desegregated by consolidation of duplicate facilities. Turner School for the orthopedically handicapped had been an institution for Negro crippled children and was staffed with Negro personnel. It had, during the semester ending in June, 1954, and average daily enrollment of 66 pupils and a faculty of 6 teachers.[1] Michael School for the orthopedically handicapped had been an institution for white crippled children and was staffed with white personnel. During the semester closing June, 1954, it had an average daily enrollment of

[1] See Official Report of the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis for July, 1954, for all statistical data referred to in this section.

136 pupils and a faculty of 10 teachers. Since the Michael School building was adequate to house the program for all orthopedically handicapped children of the city, the two schools were combined into one and housed in the Michael building. Again, in accordance with the plan and policy statement of the Board, there was desegregation of pupils, teachers, attendants, custodial workers, bus drivers, and therapists. The consolidation was made without racial incident and characterized by a spirit of cooperation on the part of parents, staff members, and pupils. There was, on the opening day of school, an assembly program at which staff personnel was introduced. Then every staff member concentrated his efforts on doing a good educational job. That, as in the case of the college, was considered the best technique for creating a normal school situation at the earliest possible date. As has been said, desegregation of the schools for the orthopedically handicapped, because of the variety of school and community relationships involved, afforded opportunity to test and demonstrate on a small scale and in a well controlled situation every phase of the Board's plan.

The two schools for the deaf were desegregated according to the same pattern. Turner School for the deaf was as of June, 1954, a school with an average daily enrollment of 15 Negro pupils and a faculty of 2 Negro teachers. Gallaudet School for the deaf was as of June, 1954, a school with an average daily enrollment of 72 white pupils and a faculty of 9 white teachers. The two were consolidated and housed in the Gallaudet School building, which had facilities adequate to accommodate the total number. The combination of the schools for the orthopedically handicapped and the combination of the schools for the deaf released additional classroom space for regular elementary school pupils in a densely populated area of the city.

Desegregation was quietly but equally successful at public schools and classses for exceptional children in hospitals and corrective institu-

tions. The Board of Education furnishes three full-time teachers for instruction of crippled children at Shriners Hospital. During the semester ending in June, 1954, an average daily enrollment of 73 hospitalized white and Negro children had been given instruction in that institution either on an individualized or on a racially segregated basis. As of September, 1954, the school was re-organized on a non-segregated basis. The Board of Education also conducts a school at Missouri Hills, a parental institution operated by the City of St. Louis where boys in need of social re-habilitation away from their home or neighborhood environments are committed by the juvenile court. During the semester ending in June, 1954, an average daily enrollment of 36 white boys and 64 Negro boys had been taught at that school in racially separate classes by 8 public school teachers, 3 of whom were Negro. As of September, 1954, these classes, too, were re-organized on a non-racial basis. A similar institution where girls in need of social re-habilitation away from their home or neighborhood environments are committed by the juvenile court is operated by the City of St. Louis at Meramec Hills. During the semester ending June, 1954, an average daily enrollment of 12 white girls and 19 Negro girls had been taught by 1 white teacher and 1 Negro teacher, respectively, in what amounted to two one-room schools. Since the two groups of girls resided in separate cottages and since school facilities were set up as a part of each cottage, there was a delay in desegregation of these schools. They were, however, placed on a non-segregated basis in September, 1955, one teacher instructing all pupils of grades one through seven and the other teacher all pupils of grades eight and nine. Since the children at Shriners Hospital, Missouri Hills and Meramec Hills were all in residence at the institutions, the process of desegregation became that of organization by grade rather than race. As in the case of the colleges and the special schools for the deaf and for the orthopedically handicapped, this was done by consolida-

tion of duplicate facilities. The change was made with little difficulty since most of the white and Negro children at these institutions had previously engaged in many non-school activities together.

The Board of Education also operated as of June, 1954, 19 schools for mentally retarded white children and 11 schools for mentally retarded Negro children. These schools were for the most part classes housed in regular elementary school buildings. Pupils were assigned to them by the assistant director of education in charge of special education, after a study of each individual case, on the basis of race, chronological age, distance, traffic conditions, transportation facilities, and capacity of school. During the semester which ended in June, 1954, there had been in the 19 schools for mentally retarded white children an average daily enrollment of 477 pupils taught by 26 teachers. During the same semester there had been in the 11 such schools for Negro pupils an average daily enrollment of 405 pupils taught by 20 teachers. The process of desegregation consisted of eliminating race as a factor to be considered in the making of assignments. It should be noted that the majority of classes for mentally retarded children were housed in buildings with regular elementary school classes and that the regular elementary schools were not desegregated until a year later. The result was that in a number of instances there was only one pupil of a given racial group in a school of five or six hundred pupils. In each instance of this kind, the principal and teacher were able to see that the child was given a feeling of security. Such a result was made possible by the low pupil-teacher ratio and the emphasis placed in these classes upon regarding each child as an individual.

Effects of Initial Steps

These initial steps, which effected student and staff desegre-

gation of the colleges and of the special classes for exceptional children, accomplished several helpful results. In the first place, the forthright manner in which they were taken went far towards dispelling any doubts which might have existed in certain sections of the community as to the Board's "good faith" compliance with the edict of the Court. In the second place, the success of these steps demonstrated to school administrators and Board members as well as citizens the practicability of the basic features of what had up to that point been a theoretical plan. In the third place, these steps provided concrete examples of what desegregated school situations would be like: situations in which students and teachers irrespective of race participate in the activities of the school with a maximum of co-operation. And in the fourth place, the amicable spirit in which the desegregation process took place and the normality with which the educational program proceeded was instrumental in helping to create a climate of good will and understanding favorable to successful subsequent desegregation of other groups of schools.

Desegregation of General High Schools

During the half-year in which desegregation of the colleges and special schools for exceptional children was under way, groundwork was being laid for the next two steps: desegregation of the general high schools and of the adult education programs. There were in the St. Louis System nine four-year high schools, seven of them for white students and two of them for Negro students. These schools had as of the semester ending January 28, 1955, an average daily enrollment of 14,134 students, 9898 white and 4236 Negro.[1] They were staffed by 590 classroom teachers, 420 white and 170 Negro. Their administrative personnel

[1] See Official Report of the Meeting of the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis for March, 1955.

consisted of seven principals, twelve assistant principals, fourteen counsellors, and nine librarians for the schools for white students and two principals, five assistant principals, six counsellors, and four librarians for the schools for Negro students. White and Negro teaching and administrative personnel were required to have the same qualifications for appointment and were on the same salary schedule. All nine of the general high schools operated under the administrative supervision of the same assistant superintendent and the same director of education. They followed the same courses of study, which had been prepared by committees composed of white and Negro teachers. They also used the same textbooks, which had been selected by committees composed of white and Negro teachers.

Students were assigned to these schools on the basis of race and residence. The entire city was partitioned into seven districts for the white high schools so that a student living anywhere in St. Louis resided in the district of one of these seven schools. It was partitioned into two districts for the Negro high schools so that a student living anywhere in St. Louis resided in the district of one of these two schools. A white student living in the district of one high school and desiring for an acceptable reason to attend one of the other six high schools for white students might be granted a permit to do so by the director of secondary education. A Negro student living in the district of one high school and desiring for an acceptable reason to attend the other high school for Negro students might be granted a special permit to do so by the same director. The high schools for Negro students enrolled a larger number of students than their buildings could comfortably house in spite of the fact that one of these schools was using a large elementary school building as a branch school for its

ninth grade pupils. The high schools for white students were with one exception not overpopulated. This situation was due to a continuous increase in the Negro high school population which had been in progress for some years, a continuous decrease in the white high school population in most sections of the city, and an increase in white high school population in one section of the city where considerable home-building was in progress. In order to improve the housing situation in the high schools for Negro students and in one of the high schools for white students, additional secondary school facilities were under construction.

Preparations for desegregation of the general high schools consisted of (1) redistricting and announcing revised district boundaries, (2) assigning students as outlined in the general principles governing the integration of students, (3) assigning teachers as outlined in the general principles governing the integration of employees, and (4) creating and maintaining in each school community an atmosphere conducive to amicable and orderly desegregation. In order to implement the instructions of the Board with a minimum of mistakes and misunderstandings, an office to work on the mechanics of desegregation was established by the Superintendent of Instruction early in the school year 1954-55. It was believed by him that the more exactly and objectively the directives of the Board were carried out, the smoother and more amicable the transition would be.

The first job assigned this office was to work with the division of secondary education in drawing high school district boundary lines for a non-segregated system. The procedure in drawing these lines was as follows. Each of the nine general high school principals had prepared and sent to the central office individual I.B.M. cards for all students enrolled in his school except those expected to graduate in January,

1955. These cards contained the student's grade in school and the number of the city block in which he resided. From these cards was prepared in the central office an I.B.M. card for each of the approximately 6,000 city blocks in St. Louis showing by grade the total number of public high school students residing in that block. All indications of racial identities were purposely omitted from the card. On the basis of the statistics thus assembled, together with considerations of building capacities, distance, and transportation facilities, the city was divided into nine high school districts. The reason for following the procedure here described was to be certain that all possible efforts were made to do this basic job with maximum objectivity. This, it was believed, would tend to keep out of the situation mistrusts and suspicions which might impede the progress of orderly desegregation.

The new district boundary lines were released to the local newspapers on November 15, 1954, - ten weeks before they were to become effective. They were printed in full and in prominent positions in the daily and weekly press, which also carried maps on which the district outlines were clearly shown. They were subjected to scrutiny and discussion throughout the community. The promptness with which they had been announced and the objectivity with which they had been drawn received editorial praise and also the praise of civic and religious organizations. No complaints in regard to them were registered in the office of the Superintendent.

Shortly after these boundaries had been publicized, principals of elementary schools officially notified the parents of their January graduates in regard to the changes and informed them that pupils entering high school for the first time were expected to register according

to the new districts. Principals of high schools also officially notified the parents of their students of the changes and obtained from each student living in the new district of a different high school a statement as to whether or not he desired to transfer to that school. Data thus secured was tabulated and made available to each principal concerned so that he was able to estimate the enrollment of his school for the following term and could proceed to make his program. There were fewer requests for special permits to attend school outside of one's own district than in any previous year. Those so made were dealt with by the director of secondary education in the usual manner after a study of the circumstances surrounding each individual case.

Results of this re-distribution of students are reflected in the following report of enrollments on the opening day of the semester at six of the seven high schools formerly designated white:

School	Number of Negro Students	Total Enrollment
Soldan-Blewett	350	1,350
McKinley	211	1,437
Beaumont	98	1,890
Central	167	1,201
Cleveland	7	1,483
Roosevelt	29	1,820

Thus on the first day of non-segregation a total of 862 Negro students enrolled at six of the seven high schools formerly designated white. Slightly more than forty per cent of the students already enrolled at one or the other of the former Negro high schools who were eligible because of the re-districting to transfer to one of the high schools formerly designated white elected to continue in the school they were attending. Slightly less than sixty per cent elected to transfer. As stipulated in the plan of the Board, all elementary school graduates for January, 1955, enrolled in high school according to the revised

districts. The number of Negroes now enrolled in high schools formerly designated white is not on file, as statistics on student population are no longer kept by race. There are, however, a larger number than on the opening day. Principally because of the location of Sumner and Vashon, the two general high schools formerly designated Negro, no white students were enrolled at them at the beginning of the semester. For the same reason, no Negroes were enrolled at Southwest, a high school formerly designated white.

An immediate outcome of this re-distribution of students was that the crowded conditions which had for many years existed at the high schools for Negro students were measureably relieved. The average daily enrollment of these two schools decreased from 4236 students during the semester preceding desegregation to 3592 students during the semester following desegregation--a reduction of approximately fifteen per cent.[1] Because of this reduction, and in accordance with the general principles governing integration of employees incorporated in the Board's desegregation program, a number of teachers at high schools formerly designated Negro were selected for transfer to high schools formerly designated white, where increased enrollment necessitated additional staff. An important criterion in the selection of teachers for such transfer was instructional efficiency, as it was believed that an essential to the most successful inauguration of the program of desegregation was above average teaching in situations where numbers of white and Negro students were for the first time attending classes together. At the same time, vigilance was exercised to see that schools formerly designated Negro were not deprived of too large a proportion of their superior teachers. Other criteria used in the selection of teachers for such transfer were ability to adapt to new situations and willingness

[1] See Official Reports of Meetings of the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis for March, 1955, and July, 1955.

to undertake the assignment. Negro teachers accepting these re-assignments evidenced a sense of responsibility for the success of the program as a whole as well as for that part of the program dealing with desegregation of staff. In accordance with the general principles governing integration of employees, transfers of teachers except those made necessary by changing enrollments were held to a minimum. It was believed that in a situation in which large numbers of students were changing schools retention of teachers in situations with which they were familiar would constitute a stabilizing factor.

At the same time these administrative tasks were being performed, attention was also focussed upon making certain that the Court's decision and the Board's policy were thoroughly understood throughout the system and that their spirit as well as their letter was respected. At several meetings of principals and teachers the Superintendent clarified the point that desegregation was now the law of the land and the policy of the Board and that participation in its implementation had become an officially required duty of every Board employee. He also enunciated the principle of de-centralization of responsibility upon which the system had always operated, emphasizing the point that each principal was expected to concentrate his attention on the solution of problems incident to desegregation in his particular district. The purpose was to localize whatever problems might arise and to place primary responsibility for their solution upon the administrator on the scene, who would have an intimate knowledge of the type of problem likely to develop in his school community. The job of desegregation was thus presented as a challenging opportunity for the exercise of leadership and administrative abilities. Each principal, in co-operation with his faculty and parent, student, and community groups, proceeded to make arrangements for order-

ly desegregation of his particular school. This was largely done (1) through adaptation of machinery and procedures customarily employed in the transfer, reception, and orientation of students and (2) through intensifying and broadening the human relations program.

Because the problems relative to desegregation differed considerably from neighborhood to neighborhood these preparations took a variety of forms. Each high school, using procedures that had been found effective in its situation, was organized to welcome its incoming students and to help them orient themselves as speedily as possible. The St. Louis System has always devoted considerable attention to activities centering about the transfer of children and their adjustment in new school situations. Each elementary school sending pupils to high school exercised more than usual care to make the transfers this time especially successful. High schools transferring students to other high schools did similarly. One of the high schools for Negro students held a series of auditorium meetings at which the significance of the experience through which the community was passing was made challengingly clear. These meetings were so planned and conducted that they elicited editorial commendation from the daily press. Students took over much of the responsibility for making the transfers successful. This they did in such ways as participation in many types of auditorium meetings and writing of articles and welcoming editorials for school papers. They also discussed the change from various angles in their classes in social science. At some schools, mothers clubs gave receptions for parents of incoming students. Neighborhood groups, likewise, assumed their share of responsibility. In one high school district, for example, an association was formed in which almost eighty white and Negro representative leaders of the area met to discuss problems incident to desegregation and to return to their respective organizations to work out plans

to insure that in their section of the city the change would take place properly. Included among these leaders were ministers, rabbis, priests, social workers, parents, and educators. These activities of local groups were supplemented and re-enforced by simultaneous activities of the city-wide religious, civic, and social agencies the contributions of which have been partially enumerated in previous paragraphs of this report.

January 31, 1955, the day on which the transition was made, was outstandingly successful as measured by the spirit which pervaded it and the orderliness with which the machinery of desegregation functioned. There was no "incident." It was "just another school day," characterized by an attitude of law observance and reported by the press in factual style. Students took charge of the situations, with school and police officials on hand, but not needed, in the background. There was community calm, effective student participation, and smooth functioning of administrative machinery. The transition was described in an editorial published two days later in The New York Times as illustrative of well planned implementation of the Supreme Court's decision.

Such, in substance, was the way that white and Negro students were brought into the same buildings and assigned to the same classes. The job then became that of performing a good educational job. Each St. Louis public high school had already in operation a policy of regarding all its students as individuals with varied interests and abilities and of encouraging them to participate according to those interests and abilities in all curricular and co-curricular activities under the supervision of the school. Each school also stressed the importance of recognition of individual qualifications in elections to school offices. These already operative policies were applied to the new situation with positive results. Negro students in numbers have taken prominent places in the bands, choral groups, athletic organizations, and clubs of the

high schools to which they have gone. They have also been elected to a number of offices, both in their own schools and in the citywide student council, and their reception and participation have been as satisfactory in schools in which they constitute less than one per cent of the population as in schools where they constitute more than thirty per cent. This development of democratic school life which is now in process is being accomplished by the natural application of accepted principles in the areas of guidance and human relations to which every high school in St. Louis has been committed for years.

It should be here remarked that in regard to human relations each of the high schools desegregated is functioning on a high level of maturity. One "incident" reported deserves mention because it is typical of occurrences which take place in recently desegregated situations and because the way it was dealt with is illustrative of an educational approach. Several weeks after the start of the semester, a white boy at one of the high schools squirted a water pistol at another white boy, who dodged. The stream of water hit a Negro girl, who told some of her friends who did not attend school about it. The following day there was a fight concerning the matter as students were going home from school. Teachers and principal believe that had the persons involved been of the same race, such a happening would have attracted relatively little attention. Because they were of different races, the occurrence became an "incident," with mounting apprehensions and tensions on the part of some white and Negro parents and students. The situation was dealt with by school officials with a firmness and dispatch which left no doubt that behavior of this sort would not be tolerated. In addition, an assembly meeting of the school was held. There student leaders, teachers, and administrators -

including the superintendent of instruction - reviewed the situation from several angles, showing how important it is that altercations between students of different racial groups be thought of in the same terms and resolved with the same procedures as altercations between students of the same racial group. The fact that this has been the prevalent attitude of students and parents accounts for the paucity of incidents of the nature described. The way this one was handled illustrates how such an occurrence can be turned to educational advantage and used to improve intergroup attitudes. Largely, it is believed, because of the way the situation was faced and analyzed, whatever tensions may have existed at that high school or at other high schools of the city were measureably lessened.

From the standpoint of techniques of instruction, desegregation has involved no change in fundamental approach. St. Louis, along with other cities throughout the country, has been confronted with the necessity of adjusting its secondary school program to the fact that the high school population of today includes "all the children of all the people" rather than only those looking forward to college. This means a wide range of interests, aptitudes, and abilities is present in every high school - a wider range in some than in others. How to deal with this range in such a way as to help each individual develop to his optimum has been the central instructional problem of the system for the past ten years on both the elementary and secondary school levels. St. Louis is trying several ways of meeting that problem and is at work devising others. In each of the general high schools there are an assistant principal and two counsellors who devote their full time to guidance, and in addition each student has a faculty advisor who assists him in the selection of courses. There are also "levels" programs in the language arts in which instruction is adjusted to the level of development of the

individual child, programs for gifted children, programs for slow-learning children, and programs for those with vocational aptitudes. In all these programs white and Negro students are enrolled side by side. Within the classrooms, careful attention is given individual differences. This approach to problems of instruction was believed to be the most effective in either a segregated or a non-segregated situation. It has not been changed because of desegregation.

Desegregation of Adult Education Program

On January 31, 1955, as specified in the Board's schedule, the adult education program of the St. Louis Public Schools, which had been operated as part of the system for almost a century, was also placed on a non-segregated basis. This program had, in keeping with state law, been organized in racially separate classes, which were co-ordinated under the administrative supervision of the same assistant superintendent and the same director of education. According to the report of the director, more than 6500 individual students taught by more than 200 teachers were enrolled in them during the semester preceding their desegregation. Included among the offerings were classes in elementary and high school subjects conducted in secondary school buildings; day and evening classes in home and family life conducted in elementary and secondary school buildings throughout the city; classes in trade and industrial work conducted in technical high school buildings; classes in practical nursing conducted in elementary school buildings under the auspices of the technical high schools; and classes in distributive education conducted in secondary school buildings and on the premises of retail business firms.

The process of desegregating the program consisted (1) of removal

of racial restrictions relative to registration in any of the classes for adults and (2) of consolidation of duplicate offerings where such consolidation was considered economically and educationally advantageous. No district lines were drawn, with the result that residents of any part of the city were free to enroll in courses for which they were qualified--wherever those courses might be offered. No modifications of instructional policies or procedures were made. The same atmosphere of normalcy and calm which characterized the desegregation of the general high schools characterized that of the adult education program. Tangible outcomes of the change were similar in nature to those which occurred in other divisions of the system. Consolidation of the two courses in practical nursing, for example, released needed space for housing elementary school children in a densely populated area of the city. Consolidation of the two courses in real estate made possible greater concentration upon development of one course of superior quality. These and other consolidations made it possible for the Board to offer a greater variety of courses with the same expenditure of funds. Elimination of racial restrictions also saved time and expense for a number of students by enabling them to enroll at centers more conveniently located with respect to their homes.

Desegregation of Regular Elementary Schools

Desegregation of the colleges, special schools for exceptional children, general high schools, and adult education program was accomplished as described, during the year 1954-55. In progress during the same period were activities pre-requisite to the third and final steps: desegregation of the regular elementary schools and the technical high schools. As of the semester ending June 17, 1955, there were in the St. Louis System 123 regular elementary schools (including branch schools)[1],

[1] This number includes several temporary branches used to house pupils in densely populated areas while new buildings were under construction.

in which were housed all the children of the system in the kindergartens and in grades one through eight. Forty of these schools were for Negro children, eighty-three were for white. The majority of them enrolled pupils of the kindergarten and all eight grades. Some were lower grade schools. Two enrolled only children of the upper grades. This variation in grades was in considerable part the result of efforts to arrange for smaller children to travel the shortest possible distance to school. The elementary schools had an average daily enrollment of 62,852 pupils in the grades, 38,877 white and 23,975 Negro. They had an average daily enrollment of 9,848 pupils in the kindergartens, 5,902 white and 3,946 Negro.[1] They were staffed by 1,101 white and 604 Negro teachers in the grades and 103 white and 64 Negro teachers in the kindergartens. Their administrative staff consisted of 67 white principals and 11 white teachers serving as principals or assistants to principals and 26 Negro principals and 9 Negro teachers serving as principals or assistants to principals. Each school for white children was staffed by white instructional and non-instructional personnel. Each school for Negro children was staffed by Negro instructional and non-instructional personnel. White and Negro personnel were required to have the same qualifications for appointment and were on the same salary schedules.

The 123 regular elementary schools, together with the 47 special schools and classes for exceptional children, were operated under the administrative supervision of the same assistant superintendent. The 47 special schools and classes were in charge of the same assistant director of education, and had been desegregated the previous year. The 123 regular elementary schools were divided into five groups on the basis of location and race. Three of these groups were comprised of

[1] See Official Report of Proceedings of the Board for July, 1955. These are the last statistics on elementary school population kept by race.

schools for white children and two of them of schools for Negro children. For each group of schools there were a director of education in charge, two general consultants who worked especially with probationary teachers, and a reading clinic staffed by teachers temporarily released from classroom duties. The clinic in each group of schools was in charge of one of the general consultants. All clinic and consultant service was under the supervision of the assistant superintendent in charge of personnel and special services. The teachers at the clinics worked with pupils from surrounding schools in need of special attention in reading and at the same time acquired improved techniques for the teaching of reading to use on their return to the classroom. Directors, general consultants, and reading clinic teachers of the groups of schools for Negro children were Negro; those of the groups of schools for white children were white. Staff meetings of directors and consultants were interracial as were general meetings of principals and teachers. As in the case of the secondary schools, all elementary schools followed the same courses of study, which had been prepared by committees composed of white and Negro teachers and principals, and used the same textbooks, which had been selected by committees composed of white and Negro principals and teachers. The citywide elementary principals professional association had both white and Negro members and officers. The two racially separate citywide professional associations of elementary school teachers had as of June, 1955, recently completed arrangements for consolidation the following September.

As in the case of general high schools, pupils were assigned to regular elementary schools on the basis of race and residence. For the 83 regular elementary schools for white children, the city was

divided in such a way that a child living anywhere in St. Louis resided in the district of one of these schools. The city was similarly divided so that a child living anywhere in St. Louis resided in the district of one of the 40 regular elementary schools for Negro children. The parent of a white child living in the district of one elementary school for white children and desiring for an acceptable reason to have him attend a different school for white children might secure a special permit for him to do so by application to the Superintendent's Office. The parent of a Negro child living in the district of one elementary school for Negro children and desirous of his child's attending a different elementary school for Negro children might similarly secure a special permit for him to do so. The majority of schools for Negro children had larger enrollments than their facilities could comfortably accommodate. The especially crowded condition of the schools for Negro children was partially due to a steady increase in enrollmant which had risen from 9,525 in the grades and 1,288 in the kindergartens in 1930 to 23,975 in the grades and 3,946 in the kindergartens in 1955, and was still rising. It was partially due to the fact that as neighborhoods changed from white to Negro occupancy, the number of school children per block increased appreciably, creating a need for additional facilities. A number of schools for white children located in the central downtown area of the city also had enrollments larger than their buildings could comfortably accommodate, but in most sections of the city there were schools for white children with vacant rooms. This situation was due in general to the fact that there had been a decrease in the enrollment of the elementary schools for white children from 58,953 in the grades and 7,465 in the kindergartens in 1930 to 38,877 in the grades and 5,902 in the kindergartens in 1955. This decrease was to a large extent

attributable to movement from the city to the county. Efforts were being made to ameliorate crowded situations in both groups of schools by bus transportation of white children to schools for white children in less congested areas and Negro children to schools for Negro children in less congested areas; by erection of primary branch schools; by assignment of additional teachers of physical education, remedial reading, and music to help relieve the teaching load; by the erection of modern elementary school buildings, four of which were under construction in June, 1955: and by converting schools being used for white children to schools for Negro children in neighborhoods where the population had become predominantly Negro.

Preparations for desegregation of the regular elementary schools, like those for the secondary schools, had as their objectives the making of suitable administrative arrangements and the further development in the school and school community of an understanding of what was under way and a spirit of co-operation in bringing it to pass. Administrative items to be given attention at this preparatory stage had been specifically listed in the Board's plan of June 22, 1954, and were in general the same as those later listed in the Supreme Court's implementation decrees of May 31, 1955. They included re-districting, announcing revised district boundaries, assigning pupils as stipulated under the general principles for the integration of students, and assigning instructional and non-instructional employees on the basis of the desegregated personnel policy. This involved considerable detail, and the office set up by the Superintendent at the beginning of the school year to work on certain technical features of the transition and to serve as a clearing house for miscellaneous questions pertaining to it devoted full time to such detail. Here district boundary lines were

re-drawn in accordance with the instructions of the Board "to provide the best use of the facilities of a given school by the students living in the area of that school." The method of doing so was the same as that employed in re-districting for the general high schools. I.B.M. cards used as the basis for re-districting contained no data as to racial identities, thus making for objectivity. Effort was made to re-distribute pupils in such a way that there would be a maximum average load of 38 pupils per room in each school building. It was recognized, however, that because of population shifts, the erection of housing projects, and the increased birthrate bus transportation would continue to be needed in certain areas in order to establish and maintain this average. An attempt was also made to accomplish the Board's objective with a minimum of boundary changes in order to re-locate the smallest possible number of pupils. In the drawing of elementary school boundary lines, traffic hazards as well as building capacities and distance were taken into consideration.

The revised boundaries were released to the local press on January 30, 1955 - one-half year before they were to become effective. Changes made were publicized in the daily and weekly newspapers. They were subjected to scrutiny and discussion in the 123 elementary schools of the city both by professional staff and parent groups. Only one request for modification came to the Superintendent. It was from a group of parents of a school for white children. They asked that certain blocks which had been transferred from their district to the district of a neighboring school be re-assigned to their district because the children would have to go to the new school in a round-about way. The request was granted. Incidentally, the granting of this request resulted in the children of the parents concerned attending school with numbers

of Negro children whereas the revision would have placed them in a relatively underpopulated school in which few Negro children would have been in attendance.

Pupils already enrolled in a school but not resident in its revised district were, under the regulations of the Board, given the opportunity of continuing attendance at that school provided it was not overcrowded. Early in April, therefore, each principal officially informed the parents of his pupils of the district changes and secured the choices of future school attendance for their children from those living outside the district. These choices were tabulated and, together with the number of pupils remaining in the district, transmitted to the Central Office in summary form. Here the total number of pupils electing to transfer to each school plus the number of pupils remaining in its district was checked in the light of its physical capacity. After this check, each principal was sent lists of new pupils planning to enroll in his school in September together with their classifications. He then worked out a tentative organization of the school for the ensuing year and filed it in the Central Office along with requisitions for books, furniture, and supplies and requests for needed personnel. In order that desegregation might become effective at the start of the fall term, the principal of each elementary school in St. Louis officially notified the parent of each child enrolled in his school of the discontinuance of the segregated pattern as of the following semester. He also notified each parent of the school assignment of his child, effective in September, and instructed each child assigned to a different school to register at that school during the week prior to the beginning of the fall term.

The preliminary check of parental choices indicated that there

would be Negro children ranging from 56% to less than 1% of the enrollment in 37 schools formerly for white children. It indicated that there would be white children ranging from 18% to less than 1% of the enrollment in 13 schools formerly for Negro children. Thus, the check revealed, white and Negro pupils in varying proportions would be attending classes together in 50 St. Louis Public elementary schools. The total estimated enrollment of these fifty schools for grades one through eight was 40,005; this meant that approximately two thirds of the elementary school pupils in St. Louis would be enrolled in schools at which some children of both races would be in attendance. It is to be noted that as the half-year advanced many parents changed their choices and that these changes were in the direction of attendance according to district. Because of this fact and because of a considerable population movement during the summer months, a somewhat larger number of white and Negro pupils enrolled in the same schools than was initially estimated. Exactly what that number was is not known as school records are no longer kept by race.

Because this re-distribution of pupils made necessary the opening of vacant rooms in schools formerly for white pupils, additional teachers were assigned to these schools in conformity with the general principles for integration of employees outlined by the Board. This involved transfer of a number of teachers from schools formerly for Negro pupils. Teachers were selected for such transfer by the criteria of instructional efficiency, ability to adapt to new situations, and willingness to undertake the assignment. While good teaching was from the outset regarded as fundamental to the success of the desegregation program, care was exercised to see that the schools formerly designated Negro were not

deprived of an undue proportion of their superior teachers. As large numbers of pupils were changing schools, transfers of teachers other than those made necessary by increasing and decreasing school enrollments were held at a minimum in order to keep as much stability as possible in the overall situation.

While these administrative preparations were being made, attention was being directed to giving parents and other citizens of the various school communities a thorough understanding of what was being undertaken and of enlisting their co-operation in planning for its success. Each elementary school principal, working with his faculty and parent groups, was requested by the Superintendent to assume responsibility for leadership in the orderly desegregation of his school. The precise way in which this responsibility was to be discharged was discretionary with the individual principal since situations differed from district to district. The activities took in general the form of meetings at which information was given and plans formulated and of projects through which the two groups of pupils or parents who were to be connected with the school the following year were given opportunity to know each other. A sampling of projects undertaken at this time includes joint meetings of PTA's and mothers clubs of neighboring white and Negro schools; formation of area associations in which white and Negro community leaders worked and conferred together to see that the transition in their areas took place on a cordial plane; graduation programs centering about the themes of Americanism and human relations; establishment of racially non-segregated athletic teams by neighboring white and Negro schools; inter-school visitations by pupils of white and Negro schools; and visitation to elementary schools and to meetings of elementary school PTA's by panels of students from the non-segregated college and general

high schools. In planning these projects many principals and their faculties and parent groups utilized the services of the consultant in human relations, who assisted not only with activities involving pupils but also with meetings of parents and other citizens. It should be said that some of the most effective talks made during this period to either children or adult audiences were made by panels of students from the recently desegregated college and general high schools.

Projects by the individual school were supplemented by activities on the systemwide level which deepened insights into the problem or afforded people who would be connected with non-segregated schools the following term opportunities for intergroup contacts under favorable circumstances. One example of activities which deepened insights was the bringing of educators who had worked with non-segregated situations elsewhere to share their experience with the parents, teachers, and principals of St. Louis. Another was the beaming into local faculty meetings of television programs illustrating effective classroom management of non-segregated situations. The purpose of programs like these was not to provide answers but to stimulate thought and discussion. The National Conference of Christians and Jews co-operated closely with the Superintendent's office in securing speakers and materials for programs of the nature here described. As an illustration of the provision of opportunities for intergroup contacts under favorable circumstances, white and Negro practice teachers from the non-segregated college worked together in white and Negro elementary schools throughout the city as part of their regular program. Some favorable attitudes were created thereby. In addition, playgrounds operated by the Board of Education at the majority of public elementary schools were, in the summer of 195[illegible],

for the first time non-segregated as to children and staff. Some desirable attitudes were developed by them. The efforts of the individual schools were further re-enforced by guidance meetings, workshops, and other programs of civic, religious, and fraternal organizations throughout the city. How many programs of this type there were would be difficult to estimate. Some of the most effective ones were carried on most unobtrusively. It seemed, however, that every group in St. Louis was trying to do something to make desegregation succeed. A highly co-operative spirit between these organizations was maintained throughout the semester. The objective of these activities of the spring semester was to make orderly the process of desegregation and at the same time create attitudes which would lead to early establishment of normal school situations.

On the opening of school in September, 1955, further efforts were directed towards the same end. It is the practice in St. Louis to begin the year with a two-day program of meetings for teachers and principals with pupils reporting on the third day. For elementary school personnel the two keynote addresses of the 1955 meetings centered about desegregation. One was by an anthropologist of national note, who defined the basic job of the elementary school teacher as helping individual children grow into good American citizens. The foundation stones upon which we must build such a program of guidance, she elaborated, are scientific fact plus moral, spiritual, and ethical truth. The other keynote address was by the Superintendent of Instruction, who spoke for the administrative and teaching corps of the city. He alluded to the community's spirit of intergroup good will, which, he pointed out, had been to a large extent an outgrowth of its geographic location as a focal point of development of the midwest, through which had passed and in which had settled individuals of many racial strains and religious beliefs. In

implementing the court's decision, he emphasized, the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis was not merely complying with a judicial order but was concretely expressing the community's traditional committment to the ideals of democracy. Participation in such implementation, he said, afforded principals and teachers an historic opportunity to contribute to the fulfillment of these ideals. The Superindendent concluded with a statement of gratification with the orderliness of the desegregation of the colleges and general high schools and the special schools for exceptional children and an expression of confidence that there would be comparable success on the elementary level.

What was done during these first two days of principals and teachers meetings, together with what had previously been done with respect to the building of understanding and good will, brought substantial returns in terms of the spirit and facility with which the changes were made. The third day of the semester found thousands of children reporting to schools different from those they had attended the previous year. As is standard procedure in St. Louis on the opening of school, police officials had been contacted both by the Superintendent's Office and by the individual principals and were as usual thorough in their coverage and vigilant to see that safe traffic conditions prevailed and that outsiders did not loiter about school premises or interfere with school personnel. Though generally on the opening day of school members of the Superintendent's administrative staff had been on duty in the central office, this year a majority of them were assigned to the field to help if need arose, while only a skeleton force remained at the office to handle problems which might come there.

The transition was characterized by orderliness and good will.

What had happened in the cases of the colleges and of the special schools for exceptional children in September, 1954, and in the case of the general high schools in January, 1955, was calmly re-enacted on a more extended scale in September, 1955. Most of the time-consuming problems likely to arise on a "first day" of this kind had been anticipated and settled in advance. Parents had made their choices and had been informed of their children's school assignments several months before; so that there was minimum need for conferences or inquiries. Principals had received the previous spring the names and grades of prospective new pupils, and had placed this information in the hands of their teachers. Advance registration enabled the majority of new pupils to know the locations of the rooms to which they were assigned. A number of wholesome human relations had been pre-established. During the previous half-year many parents of prospective pupils had been invited to meetings of PTA's where they met principals, teachers, and other parents. New faculty members had worked with their new associates and in their new surroundings for several days and had been briefed as to the types of problems with which they might be confronted. Many pupils entering for the first time had visited the school and had become familiar with the buildings and grounds and met some of the children. They had also met some of their future schoolmates on teams organized in the spring and on the summer playgrounds. There was, as a consequence, minimum confusion and maximum friendliness in the field. And fewer complaints and requests for adjustment in connection with the opening of school came to the Central Office than in any previous year.

One result of the change-over was to alleviate congestion in the schools formerly designated Negro. Though population shifts and the erection of public housing units did increase the enrollments in certain

sections of the city, the overall effect of the change was a distribution of pupils between schools more in accordance with building capacities. Situations of the sort in which schools for Negro children with enrollments in considerable excess of their normal capacities were within a short distance of schools for white children with vacant rooms were eliminated. Situations of the sort in which Negro children living a short distance from a school for white children in which the enrollment was below its building capacity travelled seven or eight miles by bus to a school for Negro children with an extremely high pupil-teacher ratio were also elimimated. As was true on the secondary level, assignment of pupils to schools according to residence rather than according to residence and race brought immediate reduction, with consequent heightening of teacher morale, of the excessive pupil-room ratio which had prevailed for decades in schools for Negro children. It also lightened the principals' loads since crowded conditions tend to breed disciplinary problems.

Some idea of the extent of this reduction can be deduced from a comparison of grade enrollments before and after desegregation in the schools formerly designated Negro, as shown by the following data taken from the official proceedings of the Board for March 8, 1955, and March 13, 1956:

School	Average Daily Enrollment Grades 1-8 First Semester 1954 - 1955 (Before Desegregation)	Average Daily Enrollment Grades 1-8 First Semester 1955 - 1956 (After Desegregation)	Reduction	Increase
Attucks	388	303	85	
Attucks Br. No.1	198	176	22	
Attucks Br. No.2	195	149	46	
Banneker	967	733	234	
Benton	707	662[1]	45	
Carr	539	481	58	
Carr Lane	394	427[2]		33
Carver	772	657	115	
Cole	1,029	907	122	
Cole Br.	304	261	43	
Cote Brilliante	931	859	72	
Cupples	841	757[3]	84	
Curtis	569	434	135	

[1] Enrollment of the Benton School was further reduced to 590 by the opening of the new Washington School on January 30, 1956.

[2] An additional grade room was available for use by the Carr Lane School in 1955-1956. Its pupil-teacher ratio was not therefore increased.

[3] Enrollment of the Cupples School was further reduced to 679 by the opening of the new Washington School on January 30, 1956.

School	Average Daily Enrollment Grades 1-8 First Semester 1954 - 1955 (Before Desegregation)	Average Daily Enrollment Grades 1-8 First Semester 1955 - 1956 (After Desegregation)	Reduction	Increase
Curtis Br.	243	197	46	
Dessalines	231	185	46	
Divoll	973	829	144	
Divoll Branch	295	248	47	
Dumas (abandoned)	304	0[4]	304	
Dunbar	1,124	945	179	
Dunbar Branch	336	291	45	
Field	866	721[5]	145	
Henry	929	761	168	
Jefferson	269	253	16	
Johnson	660	601	59	
Lincoln	1,134	1,009	125	
L'Ouverture	957	834	123	
Marshall	1,004	900	104	

[4] The former Dumas School had long been regarded as unsuitable for use. Re-districting made possible its abandonment by assignment of its pupils to surrounding schools formerly designated white. The name, Dumas, was assigned to the former O'Fallon School.

[5] Enrollment of the Field School was further reduced to 686 by the opening of the Washington School on January 30, 1956.

School	Average Daily Enrollment Grades 1-8 First Semester 1954 - 1955 (Before Desegregation)	Average Daily Enrollment Grades 1-8 First Semester 1955 - 1956 (After Desegregation)	Reduction	Increase
Marshall Br.	299	253	46	
O'Fallon	810	699	111	
Riddick	878	785	93	
Riddick Br.	274	264	10	
Simmons	1,225	940	285	
Turner[6]	289	311		22
Turner Br.[6]	390	386	4	
Waring	745	715	30	
Washington Br.	797	670[7]	127	
Wheatley[8]	248	269		21
TOTAL	23,114[9]	19,872[10]	3,318	76

[6]Because of the consolidation of the classes for white and Negro practical nurses, two additional rooms became available at the Turner School and one additional room became available at the Turner Branch School. The pupil-teacher ratios of both were reduced.

[7]Enrollment of the Washington Branch School was further reduced to 586 by the opening of the new Washington School.

[8]The Wheatley School was abandoned as a regular elementary school and its pupils assigned to neighboring schools formerly designated white. It was used in 1955-56 only to house pupils brought by bus from overcrowded schools elsewhere.

[9]There was in the first semester of 1954-55 an average daily enrollment of 23,114 Negro pupils in grades 1-8. What the average daily enrollment of Negro grade pupils was in the first semester of 1955-56 is not known as statistics were no longer kept by race.

[10]In the first semester of 1955-56, an average daily enrollment of 19,872 pupils were being housed in the same buildings which a year before had housed an average daily enrollment of 23,114. This represents a reduction of 3,242 pupils or 14% of the load. One of the buildings, the 9 room Dumas, was abandoned.

The re-distribution of pupils did more than alleviate the congestion in schools formerly designated Negro. It also placed the system in the position of making more economical use of its existing facilities. No longer were there seriously overcrowded schools in the vicinities of schools with vacant rooms or duplicate facilities that could be economically and efficiently combined. Planning from such a base, the Board of Education inaugurated at once a building and modernization program designed to reduce the pupil-teacher ratio of each school to an average of 32 within a five-year period. This program called for erection of several regular elementary schools in the vicinities of housing projects and erection of a number of primary branch schools in other areas of concentrated population. Plans for the program had been formulated the previous spring. Funds for it have been appropriated from the proceeds of a $17,000,000 bond issue passed by a five to one majority on May 26, 1955. Continuous work upon the program is regarded as essential for two reasons. In the first place, completion of additional buildings is needed even to maintain the present ratio as the increased birthrate which followed World War II is now resulting in the number of children entering school each year greatly exceeding the number graduating. In the second place, there are evidences that, owing to inadequate educational backgrounds, many pupils, white and Negro, enrolled in the elementary schools, are in need of individualized and small group instruction practicable only with lowered pupil-teacher ratios.

From the standpoint of human relations, what has taken place in the elementary schools in the course of the past year has been similar in pattern to what took place in other divisions of the system. At the outset, white and Negro children tended to congregate on the playgrounds or elsewhere with friends from former years, but as the children grew to

know one another, groupings based on previous associations tended to give way to groupings based on common current interests. The relatively few altercations reported as occurring between individual children of different races at school or on the way to and from school have in the main been the type of conflicts that would occur between children regardless of race in any normally active school environment. Teachers and principals have manifested alertness and skill in guiding children to view such altercations as conflicts between individuals rather than conflicts between representatives of racial groups. They have accomplished this objective through attitudes which they themselves displayed rather than through sermonizing. Parents, white and Negro, have co-operated closely by taking the same attitudes in this respect. The reactions of parents and pupils of one race to teachers of another have been on an individual rather than racial basis.

From the standpoint of organization for instructional purposes, the elementary schools have undergone no fundamental change as a result of desegregation. The systemwide policy has been to organize the program on the elementary level in such a way as to provide for range of abilities and interests in the pupil population and at the same time encourage the participation of pupils of differing abilities in common activities. Following this policy, the Board of Education has for many years conducted special classes for mentally retarded children in regular elementary school buildings, thus providing them opportunities for differentiated instruction as well as common experiences with other children. In September, 1955, it established on a similar pattern nine experimental special classes for the gifted. The programs of these classes for the gifted are now being evaluated. In order to provide for the range

of abilities within the regular elementary classroom, there has been a flexible policy of grouping. For instruction in the language arts skills, the teacher generally has divided her class into three or four groups on the basis of developmental needs, using with each materials adapted to the capacities of the children of that group. For instruction in the arithmetic skills, there has likewise been the practice of individualization of instruction. In the areas of social studies, science, health, music, art, and physical education, as well as in socializing activities, practice has tended in the direction of more heterogeneous groupings.

During the planning period immediately preceding desegregation of the regular elementary schools, a visiting consultant raised the question as to whether it would be wise for classroom teachers to proceed at once with the levels groupings at the beginning of the first term of non-segregation. She expressed the concern that the majority of Negro children would fall in the less advanced groups and that undesirable attitudes and feelings on the part of parents and pupils would result from this fact. The question was thoroughly discussed by principals and teachers. The general decision reached was to organize as usual with each teacher trying to place each child in a situation in which he as an individual might best learn, and to help him achieve in such a way as to earn his own self-respect and the respect of his peers. When the schools were organized in September, therefore, white and Negro pupils were found side by side in the classes for the gifted, in the classes for the mentally retarded, and in all groupings for instructional purposes within the regular classrooms. Retention of this organizational policy, plus concentration upon doing the most effective possible teaching job, is believed to have gone far towards creating wholesome classroom situations from the points of view of mental hygiene and improved learning

conditions throughout the system. There is also belief that the manifestation by parents and teachers of attitudes based on individual worth and achievement, together with measures being taken to further reduce pupil-teacher ratio, is to no small extent responsible for the continuing success of the desegregation program on the elementary school level.

Desegregation of Technical High Schools

Desegregation of the technical high school program of the St. Louis Board of Education was likewise scheduled for September, 1955. This program functioned through two public technical high schools: Hadley and Washington. The administrative and teaching staff and the student body of the former were white, of the latter Negro. During the semester ending June, 1955, as reported in the Board's Proceedings for July, 1955, there was in the system an average daily enrollment of 3,274 technical high school students, 2,073 white and 1,201 Negro. They were instructed by 146 teachers, 98 white and 48 Negro. Administrative personnel at Hadley consisted of one principal, two assistant principals, three counsellors, and two librarians. Administrative personnel at Washington consisted of one principal, one assistant principal, two counsellors, and one librarian. White and Negro administrative and teaching personnel were required to have the same qualifications for appointment and were on the same salary schedules.

The two schools operated under the supervision of the assistant superintendent in charge of college and secondary education and the director in charge of technical high schools. In relation to physical capacities, the Washington was overpopulated, the Hadley underpopulated. Previous to the court's decision the Board had inaugurated measures to

remedy this situation within the framework of a segregated organization. As of May, 1954, a new technical high school for white students, the O'Fallon, was being erected and facilities at Hadley, which was located in a neighborhood predominantly Negro, were being expanded and modernized. The decision had been reached that when the O'Fallon was ready for occupancy, Hadley would be made a technical high school for Negroes and Washington would be converted into an elementary school for Negroes. It had been further decided that Hadley would enroll some general high school students, thus relieving Sumner and Vashon, the two general high schools for Negroes. These measures were designed to result in reduction of overpopulation in the technical high school for Negroes, the general high schools for Negroes, the elementary schools for Negroes in the area in which Washington was located, and the general high school for white students in the area in which O'Fallon was being erected.

This plan for improvement of technical high school facilities within the framework of a segregated set-up was superseded by the program for desegregation adopted by the Board on June 22, 1954. In conformity with that program, it was decided (1) that the city would be divided into two technical high school districts based on distance, building capacity, and convenience of transportation, (2) that, beginning in September, 1955, both Hadley and O'Fallon would operate on a desegregated basis, and (3) that on the same date Washington would be converted to use for elementary school purposes. Owing to delay in completion of the O'Fallon building, the program could not be fully implemented as scheduled. It was, however, partially implemented by assignment of all white and Negro eighth grade graduates electing technical high school courses to Hadley in the fall of 1955 and postponing desegregation of upper classes until the new

building was available. At the same time, teachers and uncertificated personnel were assigned to the technical high schools as needed in accordance with the principles governing the integration of employees.

As had been true with respect to other categories of schools, the transition was made with orderliness and calm. Reactions of parents, teachers, and students followed as a whole the same pattern as those described in connection with desegregation of the general high schools. Something of the effect of this partial desegregation of the technical high schools on distribution of students can be seen by the following comparison of the enrollments of the two schools during the semester before and after desegregation as reported in the official proceedings of the Board for July, 1955, and March, 1956:

School	Average Daily Enrollment for Semester ending June, 1955 (Before Partial Desegregation)	Average Daily Enrollment for Semester Ending January, 1956 (After Partial Desegregation)
Hadley	2,073	2,630
Washington	1,201	978

These figures indicate an increase of approximately 20% in the enrollment at Hadley and a decrease of approximately 15% in the enrollment at Washington during the semester following partial desegregation. In order to avoid overcrowding either school during the semester beginning January, 1956, 300 technical high school students were temporarily housed and given technical high school courses in general high school buildings pending completion of the new O'Fallon. For that semester the average daily enrollments at Hadley and Washington were reported in the July, 1956, proceedings of the Board as 2,540 and 811 respectively.

During the spring and summer of 1956, final arrangements were made for completion of the desegregation program at the technical high

school level. The new O'Fallon building was made available and equipped. The city was re-districted so that both Hadley and O'Fallon would operate as desegregated schools. Students were assigned to report to these schools on the basis of the general principles governing the integration of students. Teachers and other staff personnel were assigned on the basis of the general principles governing integration of employees. General offerings listed at the two schools for ninth and tenth grade students were the same. For reasons of economy and increased educational efficiency, certain advanced courses requiring specialized equipment and enrolling smaller numbers of students were listed for one or the other of the schools. Such courses, whether offered at Hadley or O'Fallon, are completely desegregated and enroll students on a citywide basis. Technical high school furniture and equipment were removed from Washington and that school was furnished as a regular elementary school. It was also assigned elementary school staff and personnel, effective September, 1956.

With these measures, the Board completed implementation of all steps outlined in its plan - having desegregated the colleges, the special schools for exceptional children, the general high schools, the adult education program, the regular elementary schools, and the technical high schools. Throughout the process of doing so, it continuously sought to fulfill the guiding purposes enunciated in its statement of June 22, 1954: to "expeditiously and wisely secure for every public school child full, equal, and impartial use of our school facilities and services" and to "assure our employees fair and impartial treatment."

APPENDIX

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE SPECIAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE CITY OF ST. LOUIS ON JUNE 22, 1954

VOL. LX

BOARD OF EDUCATION
of the
City of St. Louis

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPECIAL MEETING

ST. LOUIS, MO., JUNE 22, 1954

The Board of Education of the City of St. Louis met, pursuant to call by the President, this day at 7:30 o'clock p.m., in the Assembly Room of the Board, President Ehrhardt in the chair.

ROLL CALL

Present: Mr. Antoine, Mr. Christel, Mr. Dyer, Mrs. Friede, Mr. McCaffery, Mr. Morrell, Mr. Schlafly, Mr. Stolar, Mr. Storckman, Mr. Whiteside, President Ehrhardt--11.

Excused from Attendance: Mr. Pohlman--1

On motion of Mr. McCaffery, duly seconded, Mr. Pohlman was excused from attendance at this meeting.

READING OF CALL AND NOTICE

The following call and notice of the meeting were read by the Secretary:

CALL

June 16, 1954

Mr. Mervyn E. Wiethaupt
Secretary-Treasurer
The Board of Education
of the City of St. Louis
911 Locust Street
St. Louis 1, Missouri

Dear Mr. Wiethaupt:

In pursuance to Section 11.020 of Rules for the government of the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis, I hereby instruct you to notify all the Members of the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis that there will be a Special Meeting of said Board, to be held at the hour of 7:30 o'clock p.m., c.d.s.t., on the 22nd day of June, 1954, for the purpose of considering and acting upon the question of desegregation of the schools operated by the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis, as a result of opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Brown et al. vs. Board of Education of Topeka et al.

Very truly yours,

s/s/ OSCAR A. EHRHARDT,
President.

NOTICE

June 17, 1954

Members
Board of Education of the
City of St. Louis.

Dear Member:

In accordance with call of the President and instructions issued to me, I hereby notify you that there will be a Special Meeting of the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis, to be held in the Assembly Room of the Board, on the 22nd day of June, 1954, at the hour of 7:30 o'clock p.m., c.d.s.t., for the purpose of considering and acting upon the question of desegregation of the schools operated by said Board in the City of St. Louis, as a result of opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Brown et al. vs. Board of Education of Topeka et al.

Very truly yours,

s/s MERVYN E. WIETHAUPT,
Secretary and Treasurer.

DESEGREGATION PROGRAM

The following statement, outlining the program for desegregation in the Public Schools of the City of St. Louis, was read by the Secretary:

June 22, 1954

RECOMMENDED PROGRAM FOR INTEGRATION
OF THE
ST. LOUIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Neither the Constitution nor the Statutes of Missouri were the specific object of the recent United States Supreme Court decisions against separate public schools for white and Negro children. These documents do, however, stand counter to those decisions and it may be safely presumed that in due course the Missouri Constitution and Statutes will be modified to harmonize with these decisions. In agreement with the spirit of these decisions, therefore, the members of the St. Louis Board of Education, the Superintendent of Instruction, and other executive officers of the St. Louis Public Schools have adopted the following program for the elimination of separate educational facilities for white and Negro children.

It is the general policy of the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis to begin the integration process in September, 1954, and to complete it by the opening day of school in September, 1955.

The program we have agreed upon has been prepared without benefit of direction from our state authorities, and it is conceivable that subsequent action by such authorities may dictate some modification of the program. It does, however, represent the best judgment of Board Members and school administrators. It provides an orderly schedule for integration and follows a logical step-by-step sequence.

It would, of course, be possible to end segregation in the St. Louis Public hools by next September. Although it would be possible, it would, in our judgnt, be educationally undesirable for many children to undertake the complete ange so precipitately.

We therefore present the following schedule for the integration process.

I. By the opening of schools next September, we shall have taken two steps:

(a) Integration at the Junior College and Teachers College level. The Stowe Teachers and Junior College for Negroes and the Harris Teachers and Junior College for whites will be combined into one institution. The new college will be housed in the Harris Building.

(b) Integration of Special Schools that provide their services on a city-wide rather than on a school district basis. Orthopedically handicapped students throughout St. Louis, regardless of race or color, will be assigned to the Elias Michael School. Deaf students will similarly be assigned to the Gallaudet School. Mentally retarded children will be assigned to special schools serving school zones as at present, but without regard to race or color.

II. At the beginning of the second semester, February 1, 1955, we will take another step:

(a) Integration of all the high schools under the Board's control except the technical high schools. New high school district boundary lines will be drawn and published by November 15, 1954.

(b) Integration of the Adult Education program which is conducted in the high schools and other buildings.

III. At the opening of the schools in September, 1955, we will complete the process of integration. At that time, the following steps will be taken:

(a) Integration of the technical high schools.

(b) Integration of all regular elementary schools.

We will publish new elementary school district boundary lines by February 1, 1955.

We believe that this schedule will secure for every public school child full, ual and impartial use of our school facilities as rapidly as is practicable.

In devising this schedule, we have been influenced by a number of reasons ich make a more rapid unification program questionable.

1. Our staff, the school administrators, must deal with many administrative problems in bringing about integration. There are problems of new school boundary lines, student and teacher assignment, and moving supplies and equipment to be faced. There will be fewer mistakes and fewer misunderstandings if we proceed in orderly steps.

2. The school administrators and the Board must establish new regulations and policies to govern the operation of a unified school system. These regulations and policies must be made clear to the parents. Clarification and explanation, in many instances, will require discussion with

parent groups, meetings with our personnel, explanations to individuals. We need time to do this job with the careful thoroughness that it demands.

3. Parents and students will inevitably be confused by a simultaneous city-wide revision of boundary lines. We would find it virtually impossible to establish direct communication with parents and 90,000 children before the students are back in the schools.

4. Our data show that the city population is shifting daily, and we expect unusually heavy population movement during the coming summer. Our tentative school district boundary lines for an integrated school system have already undergone several revisions. We need the additional data which we normally secure from the annual fall block report of students' residences.

5. Finally, there is evidence that the best way to integrate a large public school system is in orderly steps. President Eisenhower has suggested that the integration program in Washington, D. C., public schools serve as a model for other public school systems. We have studied the Washington, D. C., plan carefully. It has guided the formation of our own step-by-step program paced over a period of about fifteen months.

The following general principles will govern the integration process for students:

1. The areas to be served by each elementary and each secondary school will be established by new boundaries. In drawing these boundaries, the purpose will be to provide the best use of the facilities of a given school by the students living in the area of that school.

2. These boundaries will provide each school with a district which it will serve. Students must attend school in the district in which they live, with the following exceptions:

   (a) The proper school authorities may transfer students from one district to another to relieve over-crowding.

   (b) Students already enrolled in a school, but not resident in its new district may, but are not required, to continue at that school until they graduate. This privilege will be granted, however, only if the particular school is not over-crowded.

The following general principles will govern the integration process for employees:

1. As always, the tenure rights of certificated (teaching) employees will be preserved.

2. Whenever possible, both teaching and non-teaching employees will retain their present assignments. They will be transferred only to meet the needs of the service.

3. When vacancies occur, employees will be assigned to fill them on the basis of the competence and adaptability of an employee for a particular assignment.

4. Teachers will be appointed from a single rated list compiled from examination scores, without regard to race or color.

5. Promotions will continue to be made on the basis of merit.

6. When vacancies occur among lunchroom or matron and custodial staff, employees will be assigned to fill them on the basis of the competence and adaptability of such employees for the particular assignment. Employees in these and other non-certificated classes will be appointed from lists compiled from examination scores, without regard to race or color. Promotions will continue to be made solely on the basis of merit.

With respect to any parts of our educational program not referred to specifically in the preceding paragraphs of this statement, the Superintendent of Instruction is hereby fully authorized to proceed in such manner and according to such schedules as shall be deemed by him judicious for the proper and orderly accomplishment of our basic objective.

We believe that this program will expeditiously and wisely secure for every public school child full, equal, and impartial use of our school facilities and services and will assure our employees fair and impartial treatment. To achieve these ends, we petition the help, the cooperation, and the good will of all of the citizens of our community.

BOARD OF EDUCATION
OF THE
CITY OF ST. LOUIS

Members:

LOUIS H. ANTOINE
CHAS. H. CHRISTEL
CHAS. J. DYER
IRMA H. FRIEDE
J. J. McCAFFERY
JAMES F. MORRELL
DANIEL L. SCHLAFLY
H. M. STOLAR
CLEM F. STORCKMAN
H. O. WHITESIDE
OSCAR A. EHRHARDT, President

Executive Officers:

PHILIP J. HICKEY,
Superintendent of Instruction.
MERVYN E. WIETHAUPT,
Secretary and Treasurer.
V. HARRY RHODES,
Commissioner of School Buildings.
THOR. W. BRUCE,
Auditor.
EMMET T. CARTER,
Attorney.

On motion of Mr. McCaffery, seconded by Mr. Whiteside, the above statement was approved and the recommendations therein were adopted upon the following roll call:

Ayes: Mr. Antoine, Mr. Christel, Mr. Dyer, Mrs. Friede, Mr. McCaffery, Mr. Morrell, Mr. Schlafly, Mr. Stolar, Mr. Storckman, Mr. Whiteside, President Ehrhardt--11.

Excused from Attendance: Mr. Pohlman--1.

On motion of Mr. Stolar, seconded by Mr. Dyer, the Board adjourned.

Attest: MERVYN E. WIETHAUPT,
Secretary and Treasurer.